

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL NATO CAPITALS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN IMMEDIATE

USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BERN IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MADRID IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM IMMEDIATE

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY VIENNA IMMEDIATE

SHAPE IMMEDIATE

USCINCEUR IMMEDIATE

USDOCOSOUTH IMMEDIATE

USEUCOM IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 181846

E.O. 11652: N/A

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SUBJECT: SECRETARY OF STATE'S PRESS CONFERENCE - CYPRUS  
SITUATION

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SECRETARY'S VOLUNTARY REMARKS AT THE OPENING OF HIS PRESS  
CONFERENCE WERE SENT SEPTEL. FOLLOWING ARE QUESTIONS AND  
ANSWERS WHICH FOLLOWED:

Q: MAY I ASK, HAS THE PRESIDENT BEEN IN TOUCH WITH PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT?

A: I HAVE BEEN IN TOUCH WITH HIM, AND I AFFIRM THAT THE ANSWER IS, "YES."

Q: WILL YOU TAKE QUESTIONS?

A: RELUCTANTLY.

Q: LAST WEEK, ONE OF YOUR ASSOCIATES DESCRIBED AS PLAIN "BALONEY" SUGGESTIONS THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS TILTED TOWARD TURKEY. DO YOU SHARE IN THAT VIEW?

AND, CAN YOU TELL US SPECIFICALLY, THE CONSIDERATION THAT WAS GIVEN TO CUTTING OFF ARMS TO TURKEY AND WHY ARMS WERE NOT CUT OFF DURING THE BUILDING CRISIS?

A: WITH THE SPEAKER SITTING HERE AND LOOKING BALEFULLY AT ME, MY OPTIONS AS THEY SAY, ARE SEVERELY LIMITED.

I COMPLETELY SUPPORT THE STATEMENT OF MR. MCCLOSKEY.

THE SITUATION ON CYPRUS TILTED TOWARD TURKEY, NOT AS A RESULT OF AMERICAN POLICY, BUT AS A RESULT OF THE ACTIONS OF THE PREVIOUS GREEK GOVERNMENT WHICH DESTROYED THE BALANCE OF FORCES AS IT HAD EXISTED ON THE ISLAND.

THE UNITED STATES DID NOT THREATEN THE CUT OFF OF MILITARY AID TO TURKEY FOR THESE REASONS:

FIRST, IT WAS CONSIDERED THAT SUCH AN ACTION WOULD BE INEFFECTIVE, AND WOULD NOT PREVENT THE THREATENING EVENTUALITY.

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SECONDLY, AS WAS POINTED OUT IN THIS STATEMENT, WE ARE GIVING ECONOMIC AND MILITARY AID AS A REFLECTION OF OUR COMMON INTEREST IN THE DEFENSE OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN. ONCE SUCH A DECISION IS TAKEN, IT WILL HAVE THE MOST DRASTIC CONSEQUENCES AND NOT JUST OVER A PERIOD OF TIME COVERING A FEW DAYS, BUT OVER AN EXTENDED PERIOD OF TIME.

FOR ALL THESE REASONS, IT WAS JUDGED THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD BE BOTH INEFFECTIVE AND COUNTERPRODUCTIVE TO THE THREATEN THE CUT OFF OF AID.

SHORT OF THIS, HOWEVER, WE MADE THE MOST REPEATED AND URGENT REPRESENTATIONS TO TURKEY IN ORDER TO PREVENT

THE MILITARY ACTION THAT HAPPENED. WE HAVE CRITICIZED THE ACTION AND WE BELIEVE ALSO THAT THE INFLEXIBILITY OF ALL OF THE PARTIES IN GENEVA CONTRIBUTED TO IT.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, I DON'T KNOW THE EXACT WORDING BUT BACK HERE EARLIER, YOU SAID, "THE UNITED STATES WILL PLAY --" THIS IS IN THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT, "THE UNITED STATES WILL PLAY ANY ROLE REQUESTED BY THE PARTIES." IS THAT CORRECT?

YOU WILL AWAIT SOME REQUEST FROM THEM, OR DO YOU HAVE ANY INITIATIVES TO TAKE ON YOUR OWN?

A: FIRST OF ALL, I THINK THE EXACT STATUS OF THE STATEMENT I READ IS THAT IT IS NOT A STATEMENT "BY" THE PRESIDENT. IT IS A STATEMENT APPROVED AND DIRECTED BY THE PRESIDENT -- AND I DON'T KNOW WHAT THE DISTINCTION IS, BUT GENERALLY, PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENTS ARE MADE AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

BUT THE PRACTICAL CONSEQUENCES ARE THE SAME BECAUSE IT HAS BEEN GONE OVER WITH THE PRESIDENT, AND HE HAS ASKED ME TO MAKE IT IN HIS NAME.

NOW ON "HAVE PRACTICAL STEPS BEEN PROPOSED?" IT IS MY UNDERSTANDING THAT THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IS CONSIDERING AN INITIATIVE, WHICH WE SHALL SUPPORT. WE HAVE ALSO UNCLASSIFIED

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MADE CLEAR TO THE PARTIES THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO USE ANY ALTERNATIVE METHOD THAT PROMISES RESULTS.

AS YOU KNOW, DURING THE LAST WEEK, WE OFFERED TO ALL OF THE PARTIES A MORE ACTIVE AMERICAN ROLE, AND IT IS UP TO THEM TO AVAIL THEMSELVES OF IT.

WE HAVE NOT YET MADE ANY SPECIFIC PROPOSAL AS TO A PARTICULAR SOLUTION, BUT YOU WILL SEE IN THE STATEMENT THAT I HAVE JUST READ, OUR VIEW AS TO THE DIRECTION IN WHICH THE NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD GO.

Q: CAN I FOLLOW THAT UP, MR. SECRETARY? HAS THERE BEEN ANY REQUEST BY THE PARTIES TO GET YOU MORE PERSONALLY INVOLVED BY EITHER GOING THERE PERSONALLY AND WHAT WOULD BE THE REACTION IF YOU WERE ASKED?

A: THERE HAS NOT BEEN ANY FORMAL REQUEST, AND OUR FIRST EFFORT NOW IS TO GET THE PARTIES TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE. WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO ENTERTAIN ANY REQUEST THAT OFFERED A PROSPECT OF SUCCESS.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, THERE HAS BEEN WIDESPREAD CRITICISM

AROUND THE WORLD FROM DIPLOMATS AS WELL AS FROM PUBLIC DEMONSTRATORS, THAT THE UNITED STATES USED "QUIET DIPLOMACY" WHICH WAS SO QUIET DURING THE PAST FOUR WEEKS THAT IT WAS INEFFECTIVE.

CAN YOU ADDRESS YOURSELF TO WHETHER THE UNITED STATES AT AN EARLIER POINT MIGHT HAVE DONE WHAT IT HAS DONE TODAY IF IT HAD ISSUED A FIRM, SPECIFIC STATEMENT?

ALSO, YOU HAVE BEEN BURNED IN EFFIGY ON LAFAYETTE SQUARE, I BELIEVE, FOR THE FIRST TIME.

A: WELL, I AM HONORED -- IS IT REALLY ONLY THE FIRST TIME? (LAUGHTER)

Q: IN LAFAYETTE SQUARE, I BELIEVE.

A: I HOPE YOU ALL REALIZE THAT HALF OF THE DEMONSTRATORS UNCLASSIFIED

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WERE STATE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEES. (LAUGHTER)

LET US UNDERSTAND THE CONTEXT WITHIN WHICH THE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE:

UNTIL EARLY AUGUST, UNTIL IN FACT AUGUST 8, IT WAS THE GENERAL JUDGMENT OF ALL THOSE DEALING WITH THE NEGOTIATIONS, INCLUDING SPECIFICALLY THAT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, THAT THE CONFERENCE IN GENEVA WOULD LEAD TO A SETTLEMENT AND THAT IN FACT IT WOULD, AFTER AN INITIAL PHASE WHICH WOULD BE CONDUCTED BY FOREIGN MINISTERS, BREAK UP INTO WORKING GROUPS THAT WOULD SETTLE THE ISSUE.

UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN HIGHLY INAPPROPRIATE FOR THE UNITED STATES TO MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT OF THE SOLUTION THAT IT ADVOCATED.

AFTER IT BECAME APPARENT THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA WERE HEADING FOR A STALEMATE, THE UNITED STATES, FIRST, RESPONDED TO EVERY REQUEST BY THE PRINCIPAL MEDIATOR, THE BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY, FOR SPECIFIC ASSISTANCE AND SPECIFIC PROPOSALS.

IN ADDITION, THE UNITED STATES MADE MANY DEMARCHES TO TURKEY TO PREVENT THE THREATENED MILITARY ACTION.

AND IT (UNITED STATES) WOULD HAVE PREFERRED IF, PERHAPS, SOME MORE FLEXIBILITY COULD HAVE BEEN SHOWN BY ALL OF THE PARTIES IN GENEVA.

OUR JUDGMENT WAS THAT A PUBLIC STATEMENT WOULD FREEZE THE POSITIONS AND THAT IT WOULD NOT ACHIEVE THE OBJECTIVE OF

THWARTING A MILITARY ATTACK.

AFTER THE EVENT, IT IS NEVER POSSIBLE TO PROVE WHETHER SOME OTHER COURSE MIGHT NOT HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL. OUR JUDGMENT WAS THAT UNDER THE CIRCUMSTANCES, THAT QUIET DIPLOMACY WOULD LEAD TO THESE RESULTS. BUT THERE IS A LIMIT TO WHAT DIPLOMACY CAN ACHIEVE. IT CANNOT

SUBSTITUTE FOR AN EXISTING RELATIONSHIP OF FORCES.  
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WE UNDERSTAND THE FRUSTRATIONS OF THE GREEK COMMUNITY. WE UNDERSTAND ALSO THE FRUSTRATIONS AND DISAPPOINTMENTS OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT -- BUT IT IS IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THAT THE ORIGINAL DISLOCATIONS WERE NOT OF OUR OWN MAKING AND THAT THE UNITED STATES, WHILE IT WILL TRY TO BE HELPFUL, CANNOT SOLVE ALL PROBLEMS AROUND THE WORLD.

WITH RESPECT TO THE DEMONSTRATIONS, IT IS WORTH WHILE TO REMEMBER THAT A FEW YEARS AGO THE DEMONSTRATIONS WERE COMPLAINING ABOUT EXCESSIVE AMERICAN INVOLVEMENT. NOW THE COMPLAINT SEEMS TO BE THE OPPOSITE.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, HAS THE PERCEPTION OF THE UNITED STATES AS "TILTING TOWARDS TURKEY" REGARDLESS OF WHETHER IT'S CORRECT OR INCORRECT, IN ANY WAY HAMPERED YOUR EFFORTS TO SERVE AS AN EFFECTIVE MEDIATOR BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES?

A: I THINK THAT IT IS UNDERSTANDABLE THAT GREEK EMOTIONS RUN VERY DEEP AT THIS MOMENT.

I BELIEVE THAT UPON CALMER REFLECTION, THE RESPONSIBLE GREEK LEADERS WILL RECOGNIZE THAT THE UNITED STATES HAS SHOWN DEEP SYMPATHY FOR THE GREEK GOVERNMENT-- THAT WE WELCOME THE PRESENT DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT IN GREECE, AND THAT WITHIN THE LIMITS OF WHAT WAS POSSIBLE, WE HAVE ATTEMPTED TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE.

I THINK THE GREEK GOVERNMENT WILL ALSO REALIZE THAT THE UNITED STATES' ROLES CAN BE VERY IMPORTANT IN BRINGING ABOUT A RESULT CONSISTENT WITH THE DIGNITY AND HONOR OF ALL OF THE PARTIES -- AND WE HOPE IT WILL REALIZE THAT ANTI-AMERICAN DEMONSTRATIONS AND ANTI-AMERICAN GESTURES DO NOT CONTRIBUTE TO OUR EFFECTIVENESS.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, YESTERDAY SECRETARY SCHLESINGER TALKED ABOUT THE ARMS EMBARGO AND THE CONTINUED TURKISH ADVANCES AND IT SOUNDED LIKE IT WAS STILL AN ACTIVE POSSIBILITY IF THE TURKS CONTINUED THEIR MILITARY OPERATIONS ON CYPRUS.  
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IS IT? AND TO WHAT POINT DO WE INVOKE SOME FORM OF EMBARGO?

A: I DO NOT WISH TO SPEAK OF CIRCUMSTANCES THAT HAVE NOT ARISEN. WE HAVE BEEN GIVEN ASSURANCES BY THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT THAT IT WOULD STRICTLY ABIDE BY THE CEASEFIRE -- AND THESE ASSURANCES WERE REITERATED IN MY CONVERSATIONS WITH PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT THIS MORNING.

I DO NOT WANT TO CONSIDER WHAT OUR POINT OF VIEW WOULD BE IF IT TURNED OUT THAT THESE ASSURANCES WEREN'T CORRECT.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, ON THE QUESTION ABOUT MILITARY ASSISTANCE, PLEASE, THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT STATED -- THAT DEFENSE TO ANY COUNTRY SHALL BE FURNISHED SOLELY FOR INTERNAL SECURITY AND FOR LEGITIMATE SELF-DEFENSE. IT ALSO STATES THAT ANY COUNTRY WHICH USES ARTICLES WHICH WE HAVE GIVEN THEM IN SUBSTANTIAL VIOLATION OF THE ACT, SHALL BE IMMEDIATELY INELIGIBLE FOR FURTHER ASSISTANCE.

THE QUESTION THAT I AM ASKING IS WHETHER OR NOT, WHAT YOUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE LEGAL TERMS OF THE ACT ARE, WHETHER OR NOT WE ARE NOT REQUIRED UNDER THE TERMS OF THE ACT TO CUT MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO TURKEY?

A: WELL, I WILL HAVE TO GET A LEGAL OPINION ON THAT SUBJECT, WHICH I HAVE NOT DONE. THE CONSIDERATIONS FROM A POLICY POINT OF VIEW THAT WERE AT THE MIND OF THE PRESIDENT AND MYSELF HAVE BEEN STATED HERE.

Q: IN YOUR CONVERSATION WITH THE PRIME MINISTER OF TURKEY TODAY, JUST TO BROADEN ONE OF YOUR POINTS, DO YOU HAVE THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THE ONE-THIRD OF CYPRUS WHICH IS NOW UNDER TURKISH CONTROL CAN BE SIGNIFICANTLY REDUCED IN SIZE?

A: I HAVE THE UNDERSTANDING THAT IT CAN BE REDUCED IN SIZE.

Q: BUT NOT SIGNIFICANTLY.  
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A: I DID NOT GO INTO THAT MUCH DETAIL.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, IN VIEW OF THE CRISIS IN CYPRUS, CAN YOU ASSESS, OR COULD YOU REASSESS THE CAPABILITY OF THE UNITED STATES TO STOP OR LIMIT LOCAL WARS BETWEEN SMALLER STATES?

A: WELL, THE UNITED STATES HAS NEVER CLAIMED, AND COULD NOT ACCEPT THE PROPOSITION, THAT IT MUST STOP EVERY LOCAWSTAR BETWEEN SMALLER STATES WHEREVER THEY OCCUR.

SECONDLY, IT IS ALSO CLEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES CANNOT BE ASKED TO REDRESS ANY UPSET IN ANY BALANCE REGARDLESS OF HOW IT HAS OCCURRED, AND WHERE IT HAS OCCURRED, BY ITS OWN MILITARY FORCES.

ALE ARE DISAPPOINTED BY THE OUTCOME, BY THE ACTIONS OF VARIOUS OF THE PARTIES AT VARIOUS TIMES ON CYPRUS.

WE CHOSE -- IN ORDER NOT TO INTERNATIONALIZE THE ISSUES TOO MUCH -- TO SUPPORT BRITAIN, WHICH HAD A LEGAL POSITION AS A GUARANTEEING POWER IN ITS MEDIATING EFFORT.

WE ARE PREPARED TO CONTINUE TO DO THIS, AND WE ARE PREPARED ALSO TO MAKE OTHER EFFORTS.

I DO NOT THINK IT IS FAIR TO GENERALIZE FROM THIS ONE EVENT, WHICH HAD A LONG AND COMPLICATED HISTORY, ON A GLOBAL BASIS.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, EARLIER YOU SPOKE ABOUT A NEW BRITISH INITIATIVE. COULD YOU GIVE US AN IDEA AS TO WHAT IT WOULD BE, WHAT WOULD BE THE DIRECTION OF IT?

A: I SAW A TICKER BEFORE I CAME HERE IN WHICH THIS HAD ALLEGEDLY BEEN ANNOUNCED BY THE BRITISH FOREIGN OFFICE, AND I DO NOT WANT TO GO INTO THE DETAILS OF IT BECAUSE IT HAS BEEN THE SUBJECT OF CONFIDENTIAL DIS-UNCLASSIFIED

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CUSSIONS OVER THE WEEKEND. I SIMPLY WANTED TO INDICATE THE UNITED STATES' SUPPORT FOR IT.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, ON THE ONE HAND, JUST A COUPLE OF MINUTES AGO, YOU DID NOT RULE OUT TOTALLY THE CUTTING OFF, OR THE POSSIBLE CUTTING OFF, OF MILITARY AID. YOU MERELY SAID YOU DIDN'T WANT TO DISCUSS CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH HAVE NOT YET ARISEN. BUT, ON THE OTHER HAND, YOU GAVE US TWO VERY GOOD REASONS WHY THE CUT-OFF OF MILITARY AID WOULD NOT BE EFFECTIVE ANYWAY. WHY CAN YOU NOT RULE IT OUT?

A: THE CUT-OFF OF MILITARY AID WAS JUDGED NOT TO BE EFFECTIVE IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES EXISTING LAST WEEK. IT IS A STEP WE WOULD TAKE ONLY IN VERY EXTREME CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH, I REPEAT, HAVE NOT ARISEN, AND WHICH I DO

NOT FORESEE. WE CANNOT RULE IT OUT FOR ALL TIME, BUT WE DO NOT FORESEE IT, AND WE ARE NOT THREATENING WITH IT NOW.

Q: MR. SECRETARY, IN YOUR CONVERSATIONS WITH THE PARTIES INVOLVED IN THE CYPRUS SITUATION, WOULD YOU CARE TO CHARACTERIZE THE SITUATION NOW AS A WINDING DOWN, OR DO YOU EXPECT IT TO GO ON INDEFINITELY?

A: NO, MY IMPRESSION IS THAT THE MILITARY OPERATIONS HAVE SUBSTANTIALLY WOUND DOWN. IT IS, OF COURSE, A SERIOUS PROBLEM FOR GREECE WHETHER AND UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES IT WILL ENTER NEGOTIATIONS. WE FAVOR EARLY NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE SITUATION WILL IMPROVE. INDEED, THE STATUS QUO WILL TEND TO BE CONFIRMED THE LONGER THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE DELAYED.

I HAVE STATED THE AMERICAN POSITION WITH RESPECT TO THE NEGOTIATIONS AND WITH RESPECT TO THE ROLE WE WOULD PLAY IN A NEGOTIATION, AND WE EXPECT TO HAVE CLEARER RESPONSES ABOUT THAT IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. KISSINGER

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